Fig. 51
Floor plans found extensively in Utah.
(A) Temple form.
(B) **Double pen.**
(C) Hall and parlor.
(D) Central hall.

and make the builder's task practicable. How many choices the builder will have within a given rule set is determined by the restrictions the culture places upon acceptable variation. In some areas of the United States folk builders labored under a severely limited rule set;[34] in Utah, however, the compositional options within the tradition appear remarkably open and probably reflect the secure nature of the Latter-day Saint religious communities and the heterogeneous convert population. The rules pertaining to the fenestration of the facade are particularly illustrative of the latitude available within the Utah folk building style.

On the whole, folk housing in Utah reflects the regular symmetry wrought upon folk building in the United States by the impact of the Georgian form.[35] The preference of external design gravitates toward a bilaterally symmetrical, tripartite model.[36] An object is bilaterally symmetrical if it can be divided visually into two identical parts. Inserting a third element between these two halves leads to a construction that is tripartite (containing three distinct components) and yet is still bilaterally symmetrical (dividing the object down the middle continues to yield two identical halves). The house facade in Figure 54 is an example of bilateral, tripartite symmetry. Piercing the facade of the house-that is, making openings for the doors and windows-usually follows the controlling guidelines of symmetrical balance. Upstairs windows (and occasionally doors) are located directly over the lower openings to achieve a facade that is in perfect equilibrium. Utah folk houses generally reflect this desire for order, and the placement of second-story openings over first-floor openings would probably be the first and most obvious choice for piercing the house facade.

Within the Utah tradition, however, other rules exist which deviate from this rigidly balanced pattern. Figure 54 represents a fairly typical "hall-and-parlor" (see Fig. 51C) house plan in Utah. Figures 55A-D indicate transformations of the basic hall-and-parlor floor plan in one small Utah town and reveal the extent of compositional freedom within the tradition. Spring City builders achieved visual complexity by effectively playing off the upper against the lower openings. Figures 55A and 55C are unusual and intriguing variations on the ideas of bilateral symmetry and dispense with the tripartite model completely. Figure 5 5D brings a house back into perfect harmony. Though symmetry breaks down completely in 55B, the house remains successful because of the tolerance within the tradition. The mismatching of the facade openings cannot be attributed to naivete or incompetence on the builder's part. Such diversity shows that the rules for facade piercing have been extended to compensate for a deeper confusion within the tradition itself.

Two or four openings across the front allow the builder to achieve both internal

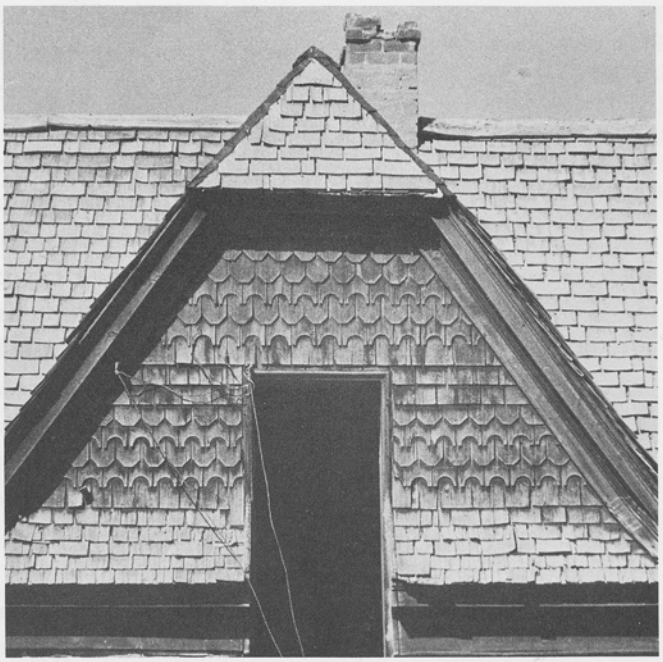

Fig. 52
Gables.
(A: upper left) Gothic Revival, Midway (Bargeboard scroll cut by Moroni Blood).
(B: upper right) Later nineteenth-century "Victorian" shingling, Central.
(C) Greek Revival, Mt. Pleasant.

and external symmetry; the facade is rhythmically balanced and the rooms of the house are equal in size (see the double-pen plan in Fig. 51B).[37] Three- and five-opening facades on hall-and-parlor floor plans (Fig. 51C) adhere most closely to the tripartite ideal yet sacrifice the symmetrical division of internal space for outward appearance. The houses pictured in Figures 55A and 55C reflect a conflict in the builder's mind between external and internal priorities. Each of these houses has a hall-and-parlor first-floor plan and a double-pen second-level room arrangement-hence the odd-number opening pattern downstairs and the even number on top. The lack of control on the facade suggests that the conflict between inside and outside concerns was never fully resolved and that a compromise solution was never totally effected. The insertion of a central hall between two equal-sized rooms (Fig. 5lD) is one common answer to the question of internal-external symmetry. Yet Utah's experience with the central-hall house has been overstated; [38] many builders chose instead to work out spatial problems on the facade of the hall-and-parlor house type.

The selection of one particular house type with one predictable facade pattern would point to the consolidation of design principles and the contraction of the rule set. In Utah, despite the theocratic organization of the society, such a selection and contraction did not occur. Figures 56A-E effectively demonstrate the openness of the design tradition on a statewide level. While the three-over-three-, the four-over-four-, and the five-over-five-opening houses are the most commonly encountered types in Utah, the attention given here to the unusual houses has not been to highlight the exotic but rather to illustrate the flexibility of the tradition to accommodate a wide range of facade designs. The rules could be stretched to cover even the visual disharmony of houses such as that illustrated in Figure 55B. Utah folk builders manipulated the ideas of order and symmetry up to and beyond the breaking point.

Most writers have ignored this diversity in Mormon folk architecture in their desire to find the closed system felt intrinsic to the orderly, authoritarian world ofZion. Yet architectural eclecticism was a reality in early Utah,[39] as John Taylor, Brigham Young's successor to the Church Presidency, told a group of Saints in Malad, Idaho:

You have a beautiful location, and I would like to see you make the most of it. I would like to see at least a hundred times more apple, pear, and cherry trees planted out; and all of your streets lined with shade trees. And improve your dwelling houses. If you cannot find the style of a house to suit you, go off to other places until you do find one, and then come back and build a better one.[40]

The Mormons were hard pressed in their exile, but architecture comforted them.